

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 041694  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY P:PEOAKLEY:DP

APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB

EUR MR. LOWENSTEIN

S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

NEA MR. DAY

-----242159 033295 /63

O 242132Z FEB 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 041694

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, XF

SUBJECT: BRIEFINGS ON MIDDLE EAST TRIP

FOLLOWING IS FYI ONLY

1. UNDER SECRETARY HABIB CALLED IN GERMAN, FRENCH, AND UK AMBASSADORS FOR SEPARATE BRIEFINGS ON SECRETARY VANCE'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP, WITH UNDERSTANDING BRITISH WOULD BRIEF OTHER EC NINE MEMBERS. ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ALSO HAD SEPARATE BRIEFING.

2. TRIP OBJECTIVES; GENERAL FEELING IS THAT LIMITED OBJECTIVES WERE ACHIEVED AND US IS QUITE SATISFIED WITH TRIP. TRIP DEMONSTRATED US COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH AREA  
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GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE PROGRESS THIS YEAR TOWARD PEACE AND WAS FIRST STEP IN THIS PROGRESS. IT PERMITTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PERSONAL CONTACT WITH THE LEADERS TO PREPARE FOR FUTURE MEETINGS. BY COVERING SYSTEMATICALLY SAME POINTS IN EACH COUNTRY, US WAS ABLE TO HEAR IN DETAIL VIEWS ON PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES.

3. CONCLUSIONS: WHILE ARAB AND ISRAELI CONCEPTS OF PEACE ARE VERY FAR APART, THERE IS CLEAR DETERMINATION BY ALL TO

MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT FOR SETTLEMENT. GENERAL MOTIVATING FACTOR IS BURDEN OF DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENTS. GENERAL CONSENSUS IS TO WORK FOR GENEVA CONFERENCE IN SECOND HALF OF 1977, WHICH IN PRACTICAL TERMS MEANS EARLY FALL. ALL CONCERNED WANT US TO PLAY ACTIVE AND MAJOR ROLE SO CONFERENCE WILL BE MORE THAN A SYMBOL. IF THE PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS CAN BE RESOLVED ALL ARE AGREED TO GO TO GENEVA WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT PRINCIPAL SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES ARE NATURE OF PEACE, WITHDRAWAL/BOUNDARY QUESTION, AND THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION REMAINS MAJOR PROCEDURAL QUESTION, BUT IT HAS SUBSTANTIVE OVERTONES.

4. POSITIONS OF PARTIES: (A) PLO PARTICIPATION; ISRAEL POSITION IS CLEAR IN OPPOSITION TO ANY PLO PARTICIPATION. ON ARAB SIDE THERE ARE NUANCES AND THERE IS NO UNANIMITY. IT IS UP TO ARABS TO DECIDE ON A FORMULA AND US MADE NO COMMITMENTS AND TOOK NO POSITIONS.

(B) NATURE OF PEACE: ISRAEL SEEKS A BROAD AGREEMENT FOR NORMAL RELATIONS: THE ARABS ARE MORE LIMITED AND SEEK END TO THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY.

(C) WITHDRAWAL/BOUNDARIES: ISRAEL IS PREPARED TO RETURN SUBSTANTIAL TERRITORY FOR REAL PEACE, BUT WITH DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. ARABS INSIST ON WITHDRAWAL TO 1967 BORDERS BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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WILLING TO DISCUSS A WHOLE RANGE OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

(D) PALESTINIAN QUESTION: ISRAEL WAS FIRM AGAINST ANY PALESTINIAN STATE. ARABS SHOW FLUIDITY ON ISSUE WITH IDEA OF SOME LINKAGE TO JORDAN BUT NO PRECISION.

(E) FORM OF GENEVA: ISRAEL FAVORS BILATERAL FORMAT IN GENEVA FRAMEWORK, WHILE ARABS SEEM TO PREFER FUNCTIONAL SUBCOMMITTEES.

5. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS: ARABS HAVE FEELING THEY HAVE MADE PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL AND NOW IT IS ISRAEL'S TURN TO MODIFY ITS POSITION. THERE IS ALSO GENERAL ANXIETY THAT PEACE PROCESS WILL STALL AND MODERATES MAY FALL. ALL RECOGNIZE THAT THIS YEAR CANNOT BE A YEAR WITHOUT MOVEMENT AND ISRAELIS SEE THEY CANNOT JUST SIT ON THEIR STRONG POSITION. IMPORTANT TO AVOID GANGING UP ON ISRAEL IN THIS PERIOD.

6. WHAT NEXT: INVITATIONS ISSUED AND ACCEPTED BY LEADERS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT: RABIN, MARCH; SADAT, FAHD, AND HUSSEIN IN APRIL; AND CARTER WILL MEET WITH ASAD IN EUROPE IN MAY. DURING THIS TIME, ARAB POSITIONS WILL EMERGE MORE CLEARLY. WE WILL DEAL WITH USSR IN THE ROLE AS GENEVA CO-CHAIRMEN AND WE WILL KEEP WALDHEIM INFORMED. HOPE WE CAN STIMULATE FRESH THINKING IN THIS PERIOD TO BRIDGE SUBSTANTIVE GAPS ON ALL KEY ISSUES.

7. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT LEBANON, HABIB SAID BRIEF STOP HAD DEMONSTRATED US SUPPORT FOR SARKIS AND UNITARY LEBANESE STATE. IT ALSO ALLOWED US TO ANNOUNCE \$50 MILLION IN AID, AND TO TALK TO HIM ABOUT HIS SECURITY PROBLEMS TO AVOID PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH WITH THE ISRAELIS. IN REGARD TO THE PLO, HABIB SAID IT IS NOW UP TO THE ARABS TO COME UP WITH A UNIFIED POSITION ON WHAT IS POSSIBLE AND CONFIDENTIAL

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WE WILL THEN DISCUSS IT. HABIB ENDED SESSIONS BY SAYING THAT AS POSITIONS EMERGE AND CLARIFY WE WILL BE IN CONSULTATION WITH EC-NINE ON ROLE THEY CAN PLAY IN PEACE PROCESS.

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY: NEA/RA:EAPADELFORD

APPROVED BY: NEA:ALATHERTON

P:PEOAKLEY(SUBS)

NEA/RA:SEPALMER JR

S/S-O:SSTEINER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO CINCEUR/POLAD

CINCUSAREUR/POLAD  
CINCUSNAVEUR/POLAD  
CINCUSAFE/POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 041694

EXDIS ADDEES HANDLE AS SPECT EXCLUSIVE

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AMERICAN EMBASSY TUNIS EMBASSY RABAT EMBASSY ALGIERS EMBASSY  
TRIPOLI EMBASSY MANAMA EMBASSY KUWAIT EMBASSY ABU DHABI  
EMBASSY MUSCAT EMBASSY SANA EMBASSY TEHRAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 041694

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DRAFTED BY NEA:AEGRIFFIN:MAR

APPROVED BY NEA:AEGRIFFIN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE

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VANCE

UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
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**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 9  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
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**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BRIEFINGS ON MIDDLE EAST TRIP FOLLOWING IS FYI ONLY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, US, XF, (VANCE, CYRUS R)  
**To:** LONDON PARIS MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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